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CHRIST AND LABOUR

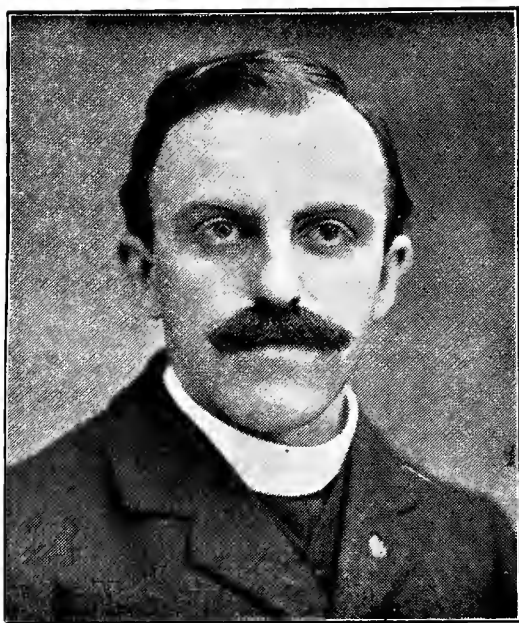
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REV. F. W. CHUDLEIGH.

CHRIST AND LABOUR

EDITED BY
C. G. AMMON



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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE following addresses were delivered during May week under the auspices of the Oakley Place Brotherhood, the object being to show that the modern democratic movement is in keeping with the spirit and teaching of Christ. It will be seen that the speakers represent varied sections of life and thought. Representatives of manual and clerical workers and of the professional classes, in fact, of all who are adding by their labour of hand or brain to the wealth of the community.

I have endeavoured to present the addresses so that the freshness and vigour of the spoken word may echo from the printed page. I desire to express my thanks to the friends who reported the addresses ; to the National Labour Press for loan of photographs of Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Wardle ; and to the Rev. F. H. Stead, M.A., Warden of Browning Hall Settlement, for loan of photograph of Mr. John Hodge.

C. G. A.

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FOREWORD

THE conviction is brought home to those who have studied our Lord's teaching concerning the Kingdom of God on earth that the present state of society is un-Christian and anti-Christian, and that it is impossible to use truthfully the term "Christian England." The ideal of the Kingdom includes the necessity of a regenerate individual life and a new social order.

The writer has worked for five years in St. George's-in-the-East, a district which is simply a huge aggregate mass of sordid poverty. This conviction is deepened first that every individual must be regenerated by the power of God's spirit, and second, that the great hindrance to this individual regeneration is not the antagonism of the people to Christianity, but the present state of our social order.

Those who have studied the religious life of London as a whole have come to the conclusion that the poorer the district the less inclination there is to attend religious worship, and this is

accounted for either by the fact that poverty has its disabilities and makes attendance impossible, or on the ground that the poverty-stricken existence of the people produces not only a condition of carelessness and apathy with regard to spiritual things, but a lack of interest in life as a whole.

We ministers are constantly told by good, but narrow-minded people, that we must let the social questions of the day alone ; but one thing is certain, social questions will never let us alone. If we are to bring about the regeneration of men we must take into consideration the great hindrances to our work.

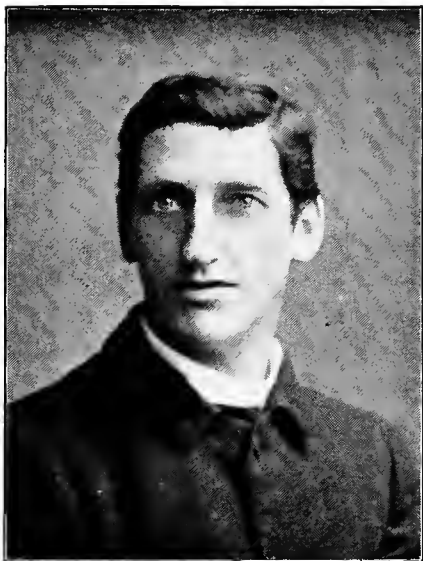
The missionaries in St. George's can conscientiously say that by every means in their power they did their utmost to get the people to attend the services. Home visitation, personal help and persuasion, the regular monthly distribution of five thousand magazines, were among the methods adopted to "compel them to come in," yet all had to confess that the results were most disappointing as regards numbers. "Why do not the people come?" was the question we asked each other, and the answer we were compelled to give was, "They are absorbed in the horrible struggle with unrelenting poverty."

For every one we were able to raise by individual regeneration a score went down through the wretched conditions of their life. Our ambulance

at the base of the precipice was not sufficient: we needed a fence at the edge to prevent the people going over. Five years in a slum district has revealed to the writer how short-sighted and superficial is the distinction drawn between the social and spiritual spheres of Christian service. For the sake of the people for whom Christ died, it is the duty of the Christian Church to fight whatever is wrong in our social system, and no Church which neglects this part of her duty is able to give to the world a complete expression of Christianity.

Social reconstruction will strike at the very root of spiritual apathy among the poor, and it is our conviction that a Christian civilization requires the evolutionary socialization of the chief means of production, distribution and exchange.

This is our reason, from the Church's point of view, that we invited the well-known Christian men whose names appear at the head of the following addresses to speak to us on the subject of "Christ and Labour." It is hoped that the good which was done among our people locally will be extended by this publication.



REV. J. DREW ROBERTS.

REV. J. DREW ROBERTS

WAS educated at Sherborne School and at Hertford College, Oxford, where he was Senior Classical Scholar; was ordained priest of the Anglican Church in 1893, his first curacy being at Newport, Salop; other curacies were at Wolverhampton, Mitcham, Surrey, and Hawarden. At the latter place Mr. Roberts served under the Rev. Stephen Gladstone. From 1902 to 1908 was Vicar of St. Swithun's, Hither Green, which he resigned in order to devote himself more fully to social work and the propaganda of Socialism, on which subject he has contributed articles to the *New Age*, *Socialist Review*, *Westminster Review*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, and many other magazines and journals. Mr. Roberts is a member of the Independent Labour Party, and has done much to advance the cause of Socialism in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and South Wales. He is keenly anxious for the permeation of the movement with the Christian ethic and spirit, and has himself contributed in no small degree to break down the foolish notion that Socialism is Atheism. He is at present lecturer at St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, London.

CHAPTER II

CHRIST AND LABOUR

ONE Christian act the Labour movement is already doing, as is evident on this platform. It is bringing together people of all kinds of beliefs and teaching them that there is in this great movement something that transcends their differences.

I think myself fortunate in being allowed to speak on the subject of "Christ and Labour," or on the connection of the Labour and Socialistic movement with Christianity, but, in the first place, may I say, by way of preface and of apology, that I cannot speak for labour as I ought to do, for I have never done manual labour for a living, and have not the experience or the outlook which the life of the worker gives. But while it is expedient that the great directing and energizing power of the Labour movement should come from those who are in the ranks of Labour, yet the movement, the world over, is so wide, so representative that many others of different walks of life are admitted to work in it and speak for it.

My contention is that in its coming the Labour and Socialist movement will bring, and is bringing, a great reinforcement to vital and essential Christianity, and that Labour itself gains, whether acknowledged or no, a great inspiration from the ethic of the Christian.

Let me illustrate. None of us here, at any rate, will deny that, of the basic teachings of Christianity, the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, and its correlative—the brotherhood of all men—are the chief.

Now, in his book on the “Creed of the Christian,” Dr. Gore, the Bishop of Oxford, says that the Fatherhood of God implies that in God’s sight “each man counts for one, and none counts for more than one.” That is the doctrine of a Christian nation, but what is our practice?

Look out over the world to-day, which is supposed to hold this creed, and what do you see? Everywhere this teaching is set at naught. Everywhere both on shore and on sea, “preference is given to the first class.” Everywhere there is a damning schedule of human values which rates the life of the well-to-do worth many lives of the poor. For three babies of the poor that die in Bethnal Green, but one of the well-to-do die in Hampstead. The life of a well-to-do man or woman is worth some fourteen or fifteen years’ more purchase than that of the poor man or woman. Every year in the mining industry alone

nearly as many perish, largely from causes that are preventable, as went down in the *Titanic*, and nothing said. Yet it is written that "each counts for one in the nation, and no one for more than one."

Labour impeaches this flagrant contradiction of the teaching of Christ, and claims for each and for all an opportunity to live, not merely to exist, but to live a full life and develop those God-given faculties of body, mind, and spirit with which each in different measures is endowed. In God's Kingdom where He is Father, each counts for one and none for more than one. Let, then, His Kingdom come on earth, is the prayer of Labour.

But the Fatherhood of God implies a brotherhood of man, and here, again, I see, consciously or unconsciously, Labour urging the fulfilment of this doctrine. Behind the economic claims of the movement there lies an ethical implication, namely, that society is *whole*, and that where one member suffers, all suffer. I believe that is deeply, eternally true, if we had the eyes to see and the heart to understand. If but one little child suffer from ills that we can stay, then to that extent, we all are the poorer, the less happy, for permitting that. And what, then, are we to say of the thousands that perish annually; what of the thousands who grow up, hipped and injured in mental and physical life?

Again, there is the problem of segregation which faces us in nearly every great modern industrial centre. *Here* we have the very rich, *there* huge stagnant pools of sodden misery, starvation, and destitution. Inexorably the outward thrust of London separates the well-to-do from the poor. We are divided by our incomes. Economics dominate morals. Now, when Labour claims, as it has done at many a congress, that the great necessary means of life in a modern community should belong not to a few, who may use them for the purposes of pride and luxury, but to the *whole* nation, what is this but the implication that the national life is whole and sacred, and if its means of life is withheld from it, its life, as a whole, is injured. The distribution of material wealth obscures true human relations and divides the nation into what Lord Beaconsfield called the two nations, the rich and poor. Labour is often accused on moral grounds of causing a class war; whereas the very truth is that we wish for a whole and healthy brotherhood. Behind all the tangle of Labour unrest and class struggle, this objective is always kept in view.

Again, consider another pillar in the teaching of Jesus. He was often accused of breaking the law. The law condemned Him: "We have a law and by our law He must die." In the synagogue on the Sabbath Day they watched Him lest He should make a man whole and

break the tradition of the Sabbath. He broke the law and made the man whole. Through the cornfields on a Sabbath Day His disciples walked, and broke the law of the Sabbath to satisfy a natural hunger. But behind all this is the principle that human life in its flower and fullness must come before any man-made tradition. The Sabbath was, then, to the Jew more sacred than any institution we can think of, except that of private property. But this Sabbath law gave way to making a man whole. The wholeness or health of manhood is antecedent to all laws, and the tradition that stay and stunt man's development must give way to a higher and more human law.

But what do we see? Do not profits come before human life everywhere? What of the fact that many thousands of railway workers, most of them married, get £1 a week or less? What do these shareholders who profess to be Christians think of this? We have heard nothing from them, yet I venture to say that if every shareholder and every director, who, in any sense of the word, claims to be a Christian, would insist that every worker has a living wage before they touch their dividends and fees they would do more for the cause of true Christianity in a day than all the preachers of the Christian Evidence Society can do in a year. Men rightly scorn a religion whose professors "say and do not."

But as long as profits come first and human life next or nowhere, it is no exaggeration to say we as a nation have enthroned Mammon, as we see this God in the brutal figure of Watt's great picture, and have set Jesus Christ at nought. We cannot serve both.

Here, again, in claiming that profit should no longer be the primary motive of production, I see Labour striving to fulfil the teaching of the Master.

There is another ruling, or shall I say dethroned, and dishonoured principle of the Christian ethic, to which, as I believe, the coming of the Labour movement will bring a renewal and reality. It is continually charged upon us that we are materialists, that we neglect the power of character and value only the environment. We are informed in graceful language that "it is the pig that makes the sty and not the sty the pig." I should have thought it pretty obvious that a pig-sty was made by a carpenter and not a pig; however, it is plain what these good people, who are usually well provided with this world's goods, mean. They mean that we say, given certain conditions, character is produced, whereas *they* assert that given character, conditions are produced. It is rather like the puzzle: Which came first, egg or chick? Without trying to solve this problem, it may be said that, from a Christian standpoint, the body is the temple of the Holy

Ghost, and to debase and degrade it is dishonouring God's Temple. What sort of character do our opponents think can come from what are called the "soul destroying conditions of one room tenements?" And are not these very people who allege this against us very careful to see that their own children have good food, good air, good education, and good housing. Why should they deny to others what they hold is essential for their own. Why is it such a course is right and good for them, but materialist for us?

But those in the Labour movement know better than any other the value of character as an asset in the movement, and they are not likely to underrate it.

But let me ask now what *kind* of character is needed? Christian? Yes, but what kind of character is Christian?

It has been said that the coming of Christ meant a trans-valuation of previous character values.

He said He came "not to be ministered to, but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many." He performed the office of a slave for His followers. He told them that the Gentiles honoured men who exercise dominion and lordship, and because they do this are ironically called benefactors, but it was not lordship that *His* disciples were to desire, it was service, and

that the greatest in His Kingdom was to be the one who did the most service.

The test, therefore, in a Christian community of the kind of character we should best honour is the amount of service rendered to the community.

Now, as it seems, the trend of our modern industrial conditions is just to make men honour those who get the most money from the nation, instead of those who give to it. There is, for instance, the sale of political titles and honours. There is the service from others, both of life and limb, that money gives to its possessors. Why in the name of Christ should a great owner of mines, royalties, and wayleaves be honoured, and the men who work and make his money for him, who bring us light and warmth in the shape of coal, be dishonoured to the extent that they are denied what they claim and know to be a bare living wage.

Do not mistake me, it would be unworthy of such a gathering as this to imply that manual labour is alone honourable, but I think it cannot be denied that the present system lays a false emphasis on the value of the man who gets a good deal and may give nothing, compared with the man who gives what he has to give and gets so little in return.

Modern industrial society sets great store by its mine lords and landlords and thinks little of its

labourers. But in the scale of Christ, Who taught us to value service higher than lordship, to whom is honour due ? The vast changes that the Labour movement stands for are spoken of with bated breath, but what are they in comparison with the revolution that the literal carrying out of the teaching of Him Whose name we bear would cause ? In *that* light we may say, indeed, our economic traditions have made the Word of God of none effect.

And I cannot help saying that it is men who are willing to serve who are needed in the movement and will be increasingly needed as time goes on.

Every great movement counts those who have fallen out through lack of faith or patience, these "lost leaders" who leave it "for a handful of silver, for a ribbon to stick in their coat." It is the Christian motive, acknowledged or not, that keeps men and women in it waiting and working for the dawn they themselves will probably never see.

That way, too, lies unity. I have read somewhere that at the east end of the Great Church of the Eternal Wisdom in Constantinople there was wrought in mosaic a figure of Christ with hands uplifted in blessing. When the Turks took the city it is said that the figure was covered over with paint. But as time went on the imperishable mosaic wore its way through the

coat of defacing paint, and again, faint indeed, but visible, the figure of Christ was seen, standing in benediction over the worshippers, worshippers of alien lips and other hearts.

And so in a parable we hope that the figure of Christ, so long and so often obscured by men's misbelief, by men's selfishness and superstition, by indifference and blindness, will become visible to all and unite all.



DR. ALFRED SALTER.

DR. ALFRED SALTER

Is a Londoner by birth. He has to his credit a brilliant scholastic and professional record, holding the following qualifications as a medical practitioner, M.D., B.S., M.R.C.S., D.P.H., etc. In 1896 he swept all before him in the London University examinations, being first in all England for the London M.D., also M.B. and D.P.H., with three gold medals and a scholarship in Public Health. He was appointed House Physician and Resident Obstetric Physician at Guy's Hospital in 1897. Shortly afterwards he was appointed by Lord Lister as Bacteriologist to the British Institute of Preventive Medicine with Gull Research Scholarship of £250 a year for three years. Dr. Salter has published a large number of original papers on bacteriological and pathological subjects in English, French and German scientific periodicals.

In addition, he has a good record of public service on the London County Council and the Bermondsey Borough Council. He was a member of the latter body from 1901 to 1904, during which time he served as Chairman of the General

Purposes and Works Committee, and as Whip to the Progressive Party. He was elected unopposed to the London County Council in 1905, and top of the poll with a majority of 750 in 1907. He was appointed Justice of the Peace in 1909. He has suffered imprisonment fourteen times as a passive resister to the Education Act of 1902.

In 1907 Dr. Salter definitely severed his connection with the Liberal and Progressive Party, and was mainly instrumental in forming the Bermondsey Branch of the Independent Labour Party. In 1909 a by-election occurred in Bermondsey through the death of Dr. Cooper, the sitting Liberal member. Dr. Salter ran as Labour and Socialist candidate, the other candidates being Mr. Spencer Leigh Hughes (Liberal), and Mr. John Dumphreys (Conservative). The result of the election was to return Mr. Dumphreys, Dr. Salter being at the bottom of the poll with 1,700 votes. In the following year he failed to secure re-election to the London County Council.

Should the Labour Party increase in strength and influence in the not distant future, Dr. Salter will play no mean part in moulding and directing the policy of the party.

CHAPTER III

THE MODERN MESSIANIC MOVEMENT

I WANT to begin to-night with a personal confession of faith. Because some of us from time to time attack a Church that has sold itself to Capitalism, it does not follow that we are not earnest Christians. From the point of view of vast numbers of people in the Labour movement present-day Christianity is anti-Christian and anti-Christ.

I desire publicly to acknowledge Jesus Christ, Son of Man and Son of God, as my Lord and Master. I want to say that from His teaching I derive the inspiration of my life, and to that inspiration I owe any value there may be in my work. His life, death and resurrection provide me with the one sure and certain hope of the ultimate redemption of mankind—redemption from sin here and now, and redemption from social injustice and economic bondage. I will frankly admit that I care nothing for the theological hair-splittings on which the Churches waste their time and their energies. I am not

interested in affairs after death. I am too passionately interested in the affairs of life—the life which God has given us to use worthily and well. When we have righted some of the awful and shameful wrongs which oppress our fellow men, when we have as a society and a nation applied Christ's teaching to our everyday business, we may be able to find time for speculations about the future. Meanwhile, let us humbly try to base our conduct and order our affairs on the instructions of Jesus, and we can leave the hereafter to the mercy of God. After all, practically the whole of Christ's words refer to this life, this everyday life, on this earth. For myself, my religion is part of my politics, my politics are an inseparable part of my religion. The man who keeps his religion in a water-tight compartment and shuts his politics out of his Church and his pulpit, in my judgment, is guilty of blasphemy. He is deliberately ignoring or denying the very essence of Christianity.

We are here to-night to ask what Christ has to say about Labour and the Labour movement. We must first ascertain what the modern Labour movement means, what it represents, what it demands.

Western civilization is in the midst of social sorrows, economic injustice, class monopoly and industrial oppression, and the working masses are crying aloud to Heaven for emancipation.

There is labour unrest and revolt everywhere in Europe. The workers have come to realize they are being robbed, not merely of things, but of life. For the idle few life is a dream of poetry and pageantry. For the toiling millions, who do the world's work, life is a squalid tragedy. For the owning classes there is comfort, luxury, certainty. For the working classes there is struggle, penury, anxiety. Organized Labour, all over the world, says that this is wrong and unjust, and that somehow it must be altered—somehow it *shall* be altered.

Ah, you say, Christ taught that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth. Let us agree at once, yet you will grant that he must have things in order to have life at all. He must have food, clothing, shelter. He does not live by bread alone, but he must have bread. A supply of material necessities is fundamental. No one can deny that to-day vast numbers of the workers have not even a sufficiency of the fundamentals. But Christ goes on to add that man requires bread and something more, "not bread alone, but every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the living God." *Every* word, not some words only—*every* word. What are the words proceeding from the mouth of the living God? The roar of the ocean breakers—the splash of the mountain stream—the sighing of the wind through the forest—

the glint of the sun on the river—the sheen of the snow on the eternal hills—the shadows athwart the meadows—the singing of the lark in the heavens—the scent of the new-mown hayfields—the majesty of the headland cliffs—the mystery of the silences of the woods—WORDS, WORDS, WORDS—words from the mouth of the living God ! And what chance have our working people in Bermondsey and this neighbourhood to hear these words ? They are robbed of the material basis of life, they are robbed of life itself. If Christ's words mean anything at all the working people must have both bread and Living Words. The modern Labour movement is a demand for these.

Take the bread question. Bread does not fall like manna from heaven. It has to be worked for—by somebody. To get bread we must labour. In order to labour we must have access to the material resources of nature and to the mechanical equipment for labour. In other words, we must have access to land and access to tools, to machinery and so on. Now two points arise here. First : If a man does not labour himself and yet gets bread he must be living on someone else's labour. That is grossly unfair. Every man who lives without labour is robbing someone else. To-day, an enormous number of rich people are doing this, living in ostentatious, offensive and vulgar luxury on the toil and sorrow of the workers. You cannot show me one word of

Christ's to condone such a system. The whole trend of His teaching is opposed to it. Second : The material resources of Nature have been appropriated by these rich people, and are deliberately closed to the workers. All the land and all the factories and machinery "belong" to a handful of capitalists and landlords. That means that all the means of getting bread, all the mechanical equipment for labour, are not available to those who would labour for their bread.

The landless, propertyless man—and practically all the working classes are landless and propertyless—cannot get bread, cannot support himself by labour, except by going to the owners and begging permission to work. He is sometimes allowed—on terms. Often he is not allowed—then he is "unemployed." The terms are hard. All he produces belongs not to himself but to the owners of the land and machinery. In return for his labour and for all the productivity of his labour he is given back a small fraction of his produce, a fraction that we call wages. When his labour ceases to be profitable to the owners from age or other reasons he is remorselessly cast aside on the scrap heap—and *he is not allowed to labour for his bread at all*. The land and capital monopolists forbid him. For him to attempt to do so is to break the law.

Yet Christ's chief sermon was a vigorous attack on all this. He said, "Ye cannot serve God and

Mammon." What did He mean by Mammon? The very root and essence and meaning of Mammonism is the grasping and holding by one person or by a few of the things which God intended for all. God gave the soil and made it fertile with His rain and with His sun for the use and delight of all. God stocked the cellars of the earth with coal and iron and oil for the service of all. To-day these vast treasure-vaults have been cornered by a few for their own private profit. Whether they have done so "legally" or not does not matter. To monopolize these gifts for private gain is the very soul of Mammonism. Mammonism is the utilization of the forces and gifts of Nature for individual instead of social good. It is the undivine use of God's power.

Modern Capitalism, is Mammonism undisguised. The leaders of the attack on Capitalism ought to be the Churches.

The titanic powers of steam and electricity, all the natural forces as well as all the material substance of the earth, are the private perquisites of a little group of landlords and capitalists. The millions are disinherited. In the name of God and His Christ, let us assail such a monstrous injustice!

I need not speak at length of other features of the modern Mammon system of social organization. Ruthless, remorseless, conscienceless competition is a necessary part of it. There is com-

petition between capitalists for profits and between workmen for work. The basis of our bread-getting to-day is a desperate struggle, a struggle from which there is no exemption, and in which the winners climb to victory, climb to a livelihood, over prostrate humanity. The Christ of the Bible could not have qualified in this struggle. He was too considerate of other people's needs and interests. I say deliberately that if Christ were here to-day, a working carpenter, He would be classed as an unemployable and a ne'er-do-well. He would have been a chronic out-of-work. If a workman goes after a job to-day he always finds half a dozen others, sometimes hundreds of others, after the same job. Can you picture Christ at the factory gates, jostling His way to the front, climbing upon the shoulders of others to catch the foreman's eye, thrusting aside the weaker and the less efficient in His effort to get the job for Himself? You know He would not have done that! That means that you know that Christ is against your competitive system of society. You know he condemns it. Yet the Liberal party and the Tory party, and practically all the Churches accept the competitive basis as necessary and inevitable. Only the Labour and Socialist party is out to sweep away competition for existence, and to replace it by the Christian method of organized co-operation for existence. That is the exact and literal meaning of Socialism—that

and nothing else. If you are a genuine Christian, if your Church is genuinely Christian, you and your Church must come out boldly and unequivocally for the Labour and Socialist cause.

The revolutionary sayings of Christ will not fit in with modern Capitalism. The only programme with which they fit in, the only programme I have ever heard of, is the programme of the Labour and Socialist movement. Justice for all—the common ownership by all of the necessary means of life—the organization of industry on a fraternal co-operative basis instead of the fratricidal competitive basis of to-day—the production of goods for use and not for private profit—that is the programme. Is it not the programme of Jesus, translated into twentieth century terms?

I say the Christian Church ought to be out in definite alliance with the Labour movement for the realization of that Christian programme.

The whole creation is groaning and travailing together in pain and poverty because the common people have been dispossessed of their inheritance by the lords of land and capital. The toiling millions are looking for a deliverance from the bondage of wage-slavery. The world is looking for a new Messianic delivery. Compare the situation to-day with that of 2,000 years ago. The Temple was there, glittering in magnificence. A highly trained and organized ministry of priests and religionists ministered within its walls. The

system of worship was perfect. Ceremony, sacrifice, piety, devotion, prayer, praise, were there. Outside, the people cried for a Saviour. Surely the Deliverer would come through the Church—the Church where God was honoured, His services rendered, His word expounded! And if not by the Church, then as a great national hero, of ancient royal and Davidic lineage, of noble birth, of position, of dignity, of influence. But no more disappointing advent could be imagined. A workman was the Deliverer! A peasant girl's son. His followers a crowd of workmen and disreputables. His message was delivered to the street corner and Tower Hill audiences of those days. And to crown everything, to mark the base and proletarian origin of his advent, He enters His capital riding on a peasant's ass. That was the Messianic movement of 2,000 years ago. To-day there is another Messianic movement. Outside the official Churches, independent and to a large extent contemptuous of them, with none of the nobility, clergy or gentry in its ranks, there is growing up the great Labour movement. It is composed, as in Christ's time, of the workmen, the common people. It is officered by rough and unrefined men from the mine, the mill, and the forge. It is proclaiming the very principles that Christ proclaimed, or rather it is proclaiming its intention to see those principles applied to the problems of modern industry. It believes that

the application of those principles, radically and practically, will effect the deliverance of the poor, the deliverance which Christ promised. It is demanding the humanizing, the Christianizing of modern social conditions. That movement is marching irresistibly forward. To its members it is the twentieth century representative of the prophetic movement that came in Judea 2,000 years ago.

When Keir Hardie was returned to Parliament for West Ham as the first and only Socialist member of the House of Commons I happened to be a witness of his entry into Westminster. The prelates and the nobles were pouring into Old Palace Yard with their stately equipages. The Liberal and the Tory members, in glossy silk hats and immaculate frock coats, were driving up in their broughams and victorias and hansoms. Keir Hardie, the miner, the man who more than anyone else typifies the spirit and origin of the new Labour movement, entered his capital in a dirty brake, full of East End dockers, his miner's cloth cap on his head, his workman's muffler round his neck, his clothes, his companions, his conveyance the typical workman cut. As I watched that new and strange apparition I could not help thinking of Christ entering Jerusalem on an ass. I do not mean for one moment to compare Keir Hardie with Christ ; I only single out the man as illustrative of the spirit of the new

Messianic movement. It is the workman entering into the capital of life. It is the workman representative who is to deliver the people, to free the poor, to uplift the common man. Before his reign is established he will have to suffer and struggle and maybe lay down his life, just as Christ did.

I ask you now, is the Church going to make the mistake it did 2,000 years ago? The organized Church of that time opposed the Messianic movement. If the organized Church of to-day is going to stand in the way of Labour's Messianic movement, it is going to meet the same fate as the Church of Caiaphas.

I am here to assert fearlessly that the duty of the organized Christian Churches in England, if they are true to the creed they profess, is to come out and declare for the establishment of the Kingdom of God and His justice *here and now*—here in the industrial and commercial world of England to-day. You cannot establish that Kingdom unless you accept the Socialist, that is, the Christian plan of common ownership of the means of existence, of co-operative industry, of production for use.

It is our public and week-day relations in the battle for bread, not our Sunday and private relations in religion and worship, that are the real measure of our belief. It is our social and industrial treatment of our fellow men, that is

our attitude to the social problem, that is the real test of our devotion to Christ. It is hypocrisy to talk about loving God whom we have not seen if we fail to show our love to the men we have seen by ensuring to them decent, human, Christian conditions of life.

I don't believe it is possible to be a Christian, in Christ's sense of the term, unless you are heart and soul with the Labour movement—not merely expressing an academic sympathy with it, but actively helping, serving, working for it.

I appeal to this Church, to all Church members here, to reconsider their relations with this great and mighty and prophetic movement.



MR. G. J. WARDLE, M.P.

GEORGE JAMES WARDLE, M.P.,

TRADE UNIONIST and Socialist. One of the best-read men of the Labour Party. Edited *Keighley Labour Journal*, 1893-7. Was appointed editor of the *Railway Review* in 1898, which position he still holds. Is a poet, and has published one or two small volumes of verse. Was elected in the Labour interest for Stockport in 1906, which constituency he still represents. Mr. Wardle is a member of the Institute of Journalists.

CHAPTER IV

THE DUTY OF CHURCH AND STATE

I TRUST that from what I am going to say no misunderstanding will arise. One of the difficulties in a subject like this is that people sometimes go away and say that what has been said is not in accord with the place or the subject.

I want this qualification to be borne in mind in connection with anything I may say in the course of my address: that I believe it is the duty of every individual person present, as far as they possibly can, to do right, to be straight, to do good, and to be good. To believe with Browning that it is wiser being good than happy. It is much better for the individual and certainly much better for the State.

The individual should be good and should live a Christian life, but nobody can say we live in a Christian society. None can say whatever their profession that our business relations are conducted on Christian lines, that industry is

organized on Christian lines, or that labour is treated in a Christian spirit.

Of course I know the answer of many is

“ Business is business.”

That there is no such possibility as running business, industry or the State on Christian principles. Now that is precisely what I want to get at, what I want us to face, for many things are not right in Christian England.

Professor Bowley says that of eight million workers, three hundred and two thousand are paid 15s. a week or less ; six hundred and forty thousand are paid 15s. to 20s. a week ; and one million six hundred thousand are paid 20s. to 25s.

Do you say, “ What has that to do with Christianity or the Church ? ” In my opinion it has a great deal.

According to Mr. Rowntree, it takes 23s. 8d. to provide the smallest decent minimum of living for a family of five.

If it takes 23s. 8d. to do that, I am quite certain hundreds and thousands of our fellow creatures are living in a state of chronic poverty, with never enough to eat, and forced to live in houses and rooms not fit for human habitation. Probably not in the whole of the United Kingdom are there congregated such masses of misery and destitution as in this neighbourhood, and in Bermondsey

and Lambeth it is at its worst, all directly due to the competitive system.

Mrs. Pember Reeves has just written a tract on family life on £1 a week based on investigations made in South London. I will quote one or two instances :

A carter living in London receives 23s. a week. He has a wife and six children, and he does what I suppose all husbands do, gives his 23s. to his wife. His budget is as follows :—

					s.	d.
Rent	..	..	..	..	8	6
Insurance	..	..	..	..	1	0
Coals	..	..	..	..	1	6
Luminant	..	..	..	..	0	11
Boots mended	..	..	..	..	1	8½
Clothing club	..	..	..	..	0	6
					14	1½

There was 8s. 10½d. left to buy food for eight people ; under 2d. per day each, and they spend it on 1s. for margarine and 2s. for bread. No butter, no milk. Meat costs 2s. 0½d., potatoes and greens, 1s., tea, sugar and flour, 1s. 4d.

Of course you say he might have economized in rent.

Let us take another case. Mr. F., also a carter, paid 4s. 6d. a week rent for four back rooms in a very low and poor part. What was the con-

sequence ? Already five out of nine children have died. These instances can be multiplied by thousands.

I do not want to excite your feelings, but I do say that such things ought not to be allowed to exist in a Christian country. As the day has gone when the condition of the poor appeals to our compassion, it ought to appeal to our sense of justice.

The problems of poverty will not be solved by calling out the sympathies of Christian people, but by reason and sense of justice. It is to arouse this sense of justice on behalf of others that I believe the work of the Church at this present moment should be primarily directed. The day has gone when a man can save his own soul and leave the rest of the world to perish outside.

You say, " Ah ! this is not his soul you are speaking of ; it is his body." True, these are questions of every day life, they are also questions of injustice, for on the whole it is just as difficult to grow sweet, sunny, bright, happy, healthy souls in slums as it is to grow orchids in a coal-house. The whole of the circumstances must be taken into consideration.

I have been very interested to-day in my moments of leisure in going about London dipping into a book* written by Lord Hugh Cecil, in which the author deals a great deal with questions of

* " Conservatism," Lord Hugh Cecil.

religion, politics, Socialism and Individualism. He says that justice only requires that none should be injured or cheated. I have to say to Lord Hugh Cecil that if such is accepted as a statement of justice, is the Christian Church to stand idly by and see the poor injured and cheated ?

Surely there is little room for wonder that people do not pay that attention to the Church and to Christianity which they otherwise would do.

In this book Lord Hugh Cecil says there is a certain passage in St. Paul in which he mentions slavery, and he does not get very excited about it. The aim of Christianity is to help every individual to be a better man.

I have some recollection that both Christ and St. Paul had something to say about the moral guilt of those who place stumbling blocks in a brother's way.

The idea that from an obscure passage in St. Paul's writings justification might be claimed for slavery and no Christian conscience be disturbed about it suggests to me a reason why Christianity has not got that hold upon the masses it should have.

Lord Hugh Cecil says, referring to competition,* "A system of which the mainspring is self-interest cannot be expected to result in consequences which are compatible to the Christian conscience. You cannot pluck figs from thistles.

* "Conservatism," Lord Hugh Cecil.

The many excellent teachers of religion who criticize the state of society, who lament the condition of the people, are thus like those who visit a thistle field, seeking in vain for figs and crying out at its prickly barrenness."

Should the workers be paid a wage insufficient to keep body and soul together ?

Lord Hugh Cecil says we live under a competitive system and that is the whole answer.

I do not take that view. It is not enough to say it is due to the competitive system. How has such a system come to be here at all ? The answer can be got if we go far enough back, and it will always be found in terms of the strong oppressing the weak.

St. Paul says, "He that will not work neither shall he eat." I venture to say that is the only fair test. What does it mean ? It means there is to be work and there is to be reward, and that the reward shall be proportionate to the work, and the man who does not work ought not to eat. It matters not whether he live in a mansion or in a cottage.

How is it some people live without work ? There is the test, and yet you have landlordism and its profit—rent, and modern capitalism and its profits, and we measure them by this simple test whether the rewards accruing to the individual come as the reward of work. If not then something is wrong, and the consequence is that

business and its reward is not of a Christian character.

So we come to the real facts underlying the competitive system. That there are some people who, because they happen to possess land or capital, or some form of monopoly, are able by that means to exact tribute, and take more than their share of the world's goods, and consequently others have to live in poverty and degradation.

Should the Church face this question or not? If the Church looks into these things, or even if she does not look into them, and allows these injustices to go unrebuked: if the Church stands by and never says it is immoral, then those who suffer from the injustice can scarcely be expected to have that regard for the Church which is expected of them and which the Church deprecates the loss.

These problems are not commercial problems, they are ethical. There is one other passage in Lord Hugh Cecil's book to which I would like to draw your attention. It is a very striking passage: *

"The claim of justice is certainly an attractive one. It may be urged that an honest man leading a blameless life, labouring to the best of his ability and so far as opportunity will allow, may, through no fault of his own, through pure misfortune, be

* "Conservatism," Lord Hugh Cecil.

reduced to absolute destitution and, lacking the assistance of others, starve. And it may then be asked whether it would be just that he should be left to his fate, and nothing should be done for him by the community in which he had lived and to whom his virtuous and laborious life had been a benefit. That it would be intolerably cruel that he should be left to his fate, that it would be an iniquity shameful to the community, a high offence against the laws of Heaven is most true. But it may be doubted whether this wickedness would, strictly speaking, be an injustice. The cruel State that leaves a man to starve does not actively injure him. The only question is, does it withhold from him something to which he is entitled? I find it hard to argue that it does." My conception of the duty of Church and State is quite different to Lord Hugh Cecil's.

If a Church community knowingly allows one of its members to starve that Church ought to be pilloried before Christendom, and the State that permits the like ought to be treated in the same manner. I do not believe that injustice can be put right or society justified with the principle that "business is business." In my opinion the competitive system is responsible for many of the evils under which we live. Such can never be altered by a policy of *laissez faire*. We may do our level best as individuals, but we cannot save the people without we act as a society.

We have got to get the Church and to get the State to act together. If it be true, as I hold it to be, that because some persons own the land from which everything comes, because some people possess capital which enables them to exact tribute from others, that here is the root cause of these injustices and miseries, then the only way to remedy them is by taking the land, taking the capital, and by using it, not for individuals, but for all, which is the State, do something to ensure fair treatment and a chance to live for every one.

Every time a man takes home less than a living wage he injures himself, and he cannot alter it himself. It can only be altered by something bigger than himself, and it will not be altered by talking. It must be done by collective action which is much more powerful than individual effort.

It should be the duty of the State to stir individuals to action in a social way. For believe me if only the individuals composing the Church of this country make up their minds to establish the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth, and not to rest satisfied till they reach the beyond Jordan all these injustices will be broken down. All will have life and have it more abundantly.



MR. JOHN HODGE, M.P.

JOHN HODGE, M.P.,

SECRETARY and founder of the British Steel Smelters' Mill, Iron, and Tinsplate Workers' Association. Has been twice President of the Labour Representation Committee ; once President of the Trades Union Congress ; President of British Section, International Congress, Zurich, 1893. Served for three years on the Manchester City Council. Unsuccessfully contested Gower, 1900, and Preston, 1903, for Parliament ; was returned for the Gorton Division of Lancashire in 1906, which he still represents. Something of the hold he has on his constituents can be gathered from the fact that he was returned in 1910, although in Australia at the time of the election. Is a breezy, vigorous speaker, always welcome on the Brotherhood and Temperance platforms.

CHAPTER V

PROFESSION AND PRACTICE

THINKING over what line I should take in connection with the topic of Christ and Labour, I decided to base my remarks on the following words in St. John's Gospel :

“ The truth shall make you free.”

We do not always like the truth. When the discussion of the relationship between Christ and Labour was first taken up the Churches did not like it, but they have got beyond that stage now, and are beginning to realize there is or should be a close association between the two.

In the past we have often heard ministers preach about Jesus being a carpenter, and from that go to enlarge upon the dignity of labour, but when we have gone to the west end of our great cities we find very few of the people who live there believe in such dignity, but rather look down upon it.

I should say that the Wesleyan Church in England until recently was the most conservative

among the Churches. When I lived in Manchester I attended a place of worship which was looked upon as being rather a "swell" church, although its congregation was largely representative of a poverty-stricken gentility, clerks, general shopkeepers, and those who did not soil their hands at work and carried themselves a "bit uppish."

About the middle of the 'nineties, when we Labour men began to grow a bit assertive, the question of strikes and lock-outs became rather a fashionable topic of discussion because of the miners' strike in the Midlands in 1894. In this particular Wesleyan church was started a literary and debating society, and the first topic down for discussion was that of strikes and lock-outs. For the most part feeling was all against the men, and it was left to one or two other trade union officials and myself to tell them the truth about the matter. Our main position was that there was a great amount of oppression and petty tyranny practised by professing Christians who, with long faces, carried the collecting-plate on Sunday, and on the following day ground and sweated their employees. We wanted them to realize that the people who professed Christ's religion should practise it. Religion is not something about which to theorize.

While in Manchester I succeeded in winning a seat on the city council, and one of the first things I was up against was the running of the trams

on Sunday by the municipality. A new park of some four hundred acres in extent had been acquired, and a proposal arose as to extending the lines to this park, and the running of a special service on Sunday. The park was to have a band to play afternoon and night. I suggested that the people would be better employed going to church than going to the park to hear bands, by which they were going to harass and destroy the work and influence of thousands of men and women who were engaged in teaching in the Sunday schools.

I opposed it on the grounds of unnecessary Sunday labour. God in His all-wise providence decreed that man should have one day's rest in seven. I want to preserve that day of rest, and I do not know a better way of preserving it than to rest from work.

In France, when the Church was destroyed and religion condemned, and it was decided that people could be ethically good without any religious foundation, the one day's rest in seven was abolished and one in ten substituted. What was the result? Having no regard to any religious sanctity about the one day's rest in ten, it soon came to pass that the workers were working every day.

I have had the good fortune to travel in France, Germany, and other continental countries in connection with the International Conferences

that are held periodically. I have also had the privilege of visiting the United States and Canada, also Australia: and this is what I find. In Australia, where they have a good old English Sabbath, there are no places of amusement open on Sunday, and they enjoy the Saturday half-holiday as we do in England. In the United States, where football and other games are played, and music-halls and other places of entertainment are open on the Sunday, there is no Saturday half-holiday for the workers, because it is not needed, as they can get their amusements on the Sunday. I have drawn this deduction that we keep our Saturday half-holiday because of the religious observance of the Sunday. I say to my fellow-workers in this land: For your own sake, if not for God's, preserve your Sunday. Here we have a close relation between Christ and Labour.

Another most conservative Church was the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. I remember the time when Churches were riven asunder by the introduction of an organ or harmonium into the service. Last October, in one of the chief Churches in Edinburgh, a conference was held for the purpose of discussing the relationship of the Church to Social questions: they were really discussing Labour questions, such as unemployment, housing of the people, and how they could win the people to the Church.

For a long time past our Churches have had their feet so firmly planted on earth and their eyes so fixed on Heaven that they had lost all sight of the people, and what was happening concerning their physical and moral well-being.

Well, to-day all our Churches have had a great revival. They are realizing that Christ's religion is double-barrelled : a religion of body and of soul. If we read Christ's life we find He cared as much for the bodies as for the souls of men. He went about doing good, giving sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, raising the dead, casting out evil spirits, and when after preaching to the multitudes He saw they were tired and hungry He fed them.

We are told there must be no politics in the pulpit. I remember attending a big meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, when the Bishop of Manchester held forth on the iniquity of discussing political subjects from the pulpit. The following Sunday the same Bishop held forth from the cathedral pulpit to the effect that if the Church of England was to keep a hold on the people it would be necessary to keep control of the elementary schools, and I have heard again and again from Nonconformist pulpits that public control should go with public money. As that great man who went down with the *Titanic*, W. T. Stead, once said, he could not separate his religion from his politics nor politics from his

religion. If he could he would not, because it would be bad for both.

The truth of the matter is, if we are going to deal with social problems in an efficient manner we must get the tenets of the Christian religion embodied in legislation.

That grand old prophet Isaiah says man must be like unto refined gold. What chance has the average man of becoming like unto refined gold when we have regard to the conditions of labour and the houses he is forced to dwell in? It was made public through that great catastrophe, the miners' strike, that 30,000 colliers who work underground earn not more than one pound a week. Taking their lives in their hands day by day for a miserable pittance. Take a tour through the mining villages of Durham, and take stock of the conditions under which the people live. The houses are a disgrace to Christianity, and to our so-called civilization. They are not nearly so good as the stables in which the rich house their horses. Surely there could be no more religious crusade than against such a condition of affairs. These conditions must be remedied before man can have any possibility of becoming like unto refined gold.

To work and live under conditions such as these there is no possibility of the soul's development, for, say what we will, the environment of man or woman has much to do

with their growth, physically, morally, and spiritually.

Let us not put the blame on God for things that come of man's devices or disobedience to God's laws.

I was staying in Swansea some years ago directly after a great mining disaster in South Wales. In the same hotel was a notorious infidel, who sneeringly asked me if God be all-powerful, a just God, a merciful God, why did He permit such a calamity to take place and so many men be hurled to death and homes left desolate ?

Seizing a large bread knife that was upon the table, I asked him what was to prevent my chopping off my hand ?

In like manner many of the industrial disasters were brought about by an equally unreasonable violation of God's natural laws. In a few instances it may be that a careless workman may smoke or use a naked light in a dangerous working, but in most instances they arose from insufficient safeguards, and from evasions of the Parliamentary Acts and regulations for the safeguarding of life and limb. Too often capitalists opposed, on grounds of expense and possible reduction of dividends, the passing of laws which would minimize or render impossible such disasters.

It is not fair to blame God for happenings which are very often within man's power to prevent.

A good many of us find fault with the Christian

Church because of the whitewashed images of Christians walking about on two feet. If we want to judge of a fine piece of sculpture we do so not from an inferior copy made by an amateur, but from the work of a master. So is it with Christianity; which should be judged by Christ; and not by the imperfect specimens of Christians with whom we are unfortunately acquainted.

In the House of Commons there are forty-two Labour members. Certain persons have been trying to disparage their influence and prejudice the country against them by tarring the Labour party with the brush of Atheism; and although the Liberal party numbers within its ranks such Agnostics as Lord Morley, John Burns, and in the person of Mr. J. M. Robertson, the recently-appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, a gentleman who by pen and speech has probably done more to attack and endeavoured to discredit Christianity than any living person, the epithet of "atheistical" is never applied to the Liberal party.

The Labour party has done more than any other party to introduce the Christian spirit into legislation; in so far that they have endeavoured to set the claims of humanity above and before the claims of property.

In the city of Glasgow there is a splendid equestrian statue of King William IV., but it is incomplete; which may not be at first apparent to the

casual observer, but nevertheless it mars an otherwise perfect piece of statuary. It has no stirrups to the saddle. So is it with our lives, both national and individual, be they never so good, without Christ they are imperfect.



MR. C. G. AMMON.

CHARLES G. AMMON,

WESLEYAN local preacher, secretary of the Oakley Place Brotherhood, Fabian, and member of the Independent Labour Party, Chairman of the Bermondsey Branch. Speaker and lecturer on Socialism, and in connection with the Brotherhood movement. Delegate to the International Socialist Congress, Copenhagen, 1910. Delegate on several occasions to Trades Union and Labour Party Congresses. Founded Bermondsey Branch of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers. Edited *The Post*, the organ of the Fawcett Association, from 1904-1911, resigned in 1911, and was elected Chairman of the Fawcett Association, a position he still holds ; is also Parliamentary Secretary to the National Committee of Postal and Telegraph Associations.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROAD TO JERICHO

THE lesson* just read applies equally to-day, as when Christ was on earth, as a description and an indictment of society. Challenged as to whom a man was to consider his brother or neighbour, Christ answered, in effect, that all men, irrespective of race, creed or colour, have claims upon each other for mutual helpfulness and love. The first note of Internationalism. Christ evidently described a journey known to his hearers to be dangerous to travellers, a road beset with robbers who robbed and maltreated lonely travellers. That the injured Jew should be beholden to the hated Samaritan for help and succour stands, for all time, a distinct rebuke to class and racial prejudices, while at the same time imposing the care of the weak and fallen upon the strong and able; but, I venture to say if that contained the whole of Christ's message, it could not have redeemed the world, and all the messages delivered from this platform during the past week would

* Parable of the Good Samaritan.

have had no foundation in Christ's teaching; and that with the giving of alms our obligations to the maimed members of society would be discharged.

We know such is not the case. The whole teaching and ministry of Christ was directed to the removal of root causes, not confined to ambulance work, necessary as is this latter during the hour of battle. It is not enough to pick up those who have fallen. The duty imposed upon every Christian is to remove the occasion of stumbling. Said Christ, "It is impossible but that offences will come, but woe unto him through whom they come. It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea."

Society of that day, as of this, would have been execrated to all future generations if, knowing the danger of the road, they had rested content with binding up the wounds of those who were outraged and injured by wicked men. The thing to do is to clear out the robbers, to break down their strongholds, and do all possible to secure a safe highway for travellers.

All the petty conventions in which men delighted and in which their warped and narrow souls sought rest came under the lash of Christ's indignation. To the Jews who boasted of their descent from Abraham he said, "God is able to raise up from these stones children to Abraham"; the Pharisees

who seemed to consider themselves the special guardians and teachers of the Scriptures he denounced as a generation of vipers and as whited sepulchres, repeating the words of His great forerunner, John the Baptist. These men had failed in their public duty to preach fearlessly and sympathetically the word of God. Christ said in effect that mere attendance and association with the House of God is not in itself a certain passport to the Kingdom of God.

Let us apply the teaching of this parable to present-day affairs. The road to Jericho is the modern competitive system. It is strewn with dead and dying men and women, aye, and little children. Men risk their lives daily in the bowels of the earth, that we might have warmth and comfort, and a few who own the means of life enjoy wealth and luxury, for a wage that is an insult to God and man, and when the miners take the only method available to remedy such things, unthinking persons, who had probably never before considered that such persons as miners existed, denounced them as "selfish." In factories men and women work long hours at unpleasant, monotonous work amidst surroundings that are soul-destroying. Not far from this chapel women work long toilsome hours for about nine shillings a week, their children knowing nothing of home or a mother's care. At one o'clock, in the brief dinner hour, you can see the babies taken to be

suckled. Small wonder if the life of shame seem to offer more variety and attraction than such an awful death in life.

What is the root cause? Let me quote from one who by no play of the imagination can be said to be in sympathy with advanced progressive thought, but who, nevertheless, sees clearly whence comes the evil. I refer to Lord Hugh Cecil. He says : * “ It cannot be denied that there is a strong ground for Christians to censure the existing organization of commerce and industry. The competitive system is certainly not a Christian system. The governing motive of those who are engaged in industry or commerce is self-interest, not love, and Christianity indisputably requires that the mutual relations of all men shall be controlled by love. To buy as cheaply and sell as dearly as possible ; to obtain labour at as low a wage as it can be got ; to work only as much as is necessary to obtain employment ; to strive, whether as employer or employed, to gain for oneself at the expense of others, these are not acts characteristic of Christianity. They are not immoral in the sense of transgressing any of the principles of the Ten Commandments ; they are not dishonest or violent, but they are self-interested. They essentially belong to a system of morals lower than that which is revealed in the New Testament. This ought to be remembered

* “ Conservatism,” by Lord Hugh Cecil.

by good men who are from time to time pained at features in industrial life which are shocking to their consciences. We are often told, we have recently been told by a great many ministers of religion, that the poverty and misery of large numbers of people in this country is a scandal to Christianity. And this is true. But it is strange that the scandal should occasion so much surprise. A system of which the mainspring is self-interest cannot be expected to result in consequences which are acceptable to the Christian conscience. You cannot pluck figs from thistles."

The chief duty of a Christian is to oppose and seek to overthrow all that is un-Christian and anti-Christian. Instead of sweeping out of the road all that makes for the continuance and perpetuation of such an un-Christian system, we have nothing better to offer than an ambulance brigade to bind up the wounds of the injured, knowing nothing and caring little about those killed outright or left to die on the road : Work-houses for the poor, hospitals and infirmaries for the sick, asylums for the insane, prisons for the criminal. Instead of abolishing the cause of the flow to these institutions. We have not even the saving grace of humour to see the horrid mockery of it all contained in the educational system we provide for the rising generation.

There are 60,000 London girls acquiring the

elements of cookery, laundry and housewifery in connection with our London County Council Schools. I rejoice that such is the case ; but let us examine a specimen *menu* for a breakfast for six persons. Here it is :—

	Pence.
*3 teaspoonfuls of tea at 1s. 4d. a lb.	$\frac{3}{4}$
$\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of sugar at 2d. a lb.	$\frac{1}{2}$
Milk	$\frac{3}{4}$
One loaf of bread	$2\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{4}$ lb. jam, dripping, marmalade or treacle	1
$\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of oatmeal at 2d. a lb.	$\frac{1}{2}$
Rashers, kippers, etc., for father	2
	—
Total Pence	8
	—

This allows for the barest, nay, the meanest necessities, yet meagre as it is we know that here in Camberwell and Bermondsey there are numbers in full work who cannot afford to spend eightpence on a breakfast for a family of six, without regard to the long, dreary periods of slackness and out-of-work.

By a curious coincidence there appeared on the same day in the *Times* (Women's Supplement) as the above delectable bill of fare appeared in the *Westminster Gazette*, the following breakfast *menu* headed

* " Things that Matter," by L. G. Chiozza Money.

COUNTRY HOUSE BREAKFASTS.

“Breakfasts in country houses must always have a certain likeness to each other, whether the party to be entertained be large or small. There must be a sideboard well covered with cold meat, there must be four or five dishes of hot food. The cold meat must include a ham, a tongue, and either cold chicken or cold game. If the party is a large one, a galantine; a pie, or some brawn should be added. An agreeable adjunct is a dish of good aspic jelly.

“For hot dishes, poached or fried eggs, bacon, fried potatoes, fried or grilled fish, or kedgerree, and sausages are the classical items. Boiled eggs, each in a separate egg cosy, should always appear. For variety, rissoles, curries, and grilled chicken can be given; cutlets or tournedos are hardly ever touched when they are sent up.

“Tea and coffee continue to be our only breakfast drinks. Good tea cannot be got under 3s. 6d. or 4s. a pound.”

Do you observe “good tea” cannot be got under 3s. 6d. or 4s. a pound? We can imagine what is drank at 1s. 4d. a pound.

“In front of every guest should be butter and a small pot of jam, marmalade, or honey; between every two places sugar, cream and milk, mustard, pepper and salt, and a rack of fresh toast. Down the centre of the table should be plates of white

and brown scones and fresh rolls. One side-board should be devoted to fruits of any kind that are in season. Flowers on a breakfast table are rather in the way."

The *Times* writer concludes: "As nothing conduces more to the cheerfulness of guests than a good daily start, it is worth while for hostesses to take trouble to get their staffs into good ways and to keep them working in good order."

I have no word of envy or disapproval against persons able to live under such conditions, but as a Christian I have a right to ask is it just that those who bear the heat and burden of the world's work should have no seat at the table and should be denied as good a daily start as a pleasure party in a wealthy country house? Why should those who create the bulk of the wealth of the community be kept outside to fight among themselves for the husks that the flame of life be kept flickering for a few years? I condemn no man. Society is in the pillory, and you and I are members of society. The love of Christ constrains us to be bold, fearless, and with love strive with no flagging of effort to bring the spirit of Christ's teaching into the affairs of the world, to sweep away the competitive system which stands condemned as anti-Christian by the testimony of men of all shades and temperaments of thought and disposition.

That prince among preachers, W. L. Watkinson, uses the following illustration as to the possibilities of the most degraded human soul. * "The Cullinan diamond, of which we have heard so much, is said to be only a fragment ; the original diamond, by some accident, is supposed to have been broken, and while one portion is now the pride of the crown jewels of the Empire, the answering piece is still in the dirt. Nevertheless, in the dirt it is not less a priceless gem, and the miners are on the look out for it ; and with what eager eyes do they watch for its gleam ! " Apply this illustration to modern civilization. Think of the bright jewels buried in the dirt and dross of slum surroundings, the bitter and relentless struggle to maintain a mere existence, the haunting fear as to what will happen should sickness or unemployment come ; what an awful waste and loss of wealth to the community is represented by these stunted and warped lives. Socialism seeks to rescue these jewels that they might be restored to the divine likeness inherent in every human being.

We shrink from the Truth as an owl from the sunlight, we like to live in an atmosphere of deception and self-delusion, that things are not so bad after all, and should these unpleasant problems thrust themselves upon our notice we try to dismiss them with the vague remark that all will

* " Homiletic Magazine," December, 1911.

come right somehow. We need more courage and a larger wisdom.

In a recent address, Dr. J. H. Jowett said :
“ At my home in England, in the quiet evening hour, my mother often sat with me. . . . One evening as we sat by our fireside, my mother busy with her work, now and then she would look up and through the window to the stars as they came out and strung themselves like golden beads on the rosary of heaven. And I said to her, ‘ Mother, why do you look up ? ’

“ ‘ I look, my son, to rest my eyes and get a larger vision.’ ”

Look up! Get a larger vision of the extent and scope of Christ’s teaching, that the whole range of human thought and activity be therein comprehended. Have no fear of men when they cry “no politics.” This is merely an attempt to stop you removing the stumbling blocks. All that hinders a human being from finding his or her own soul by forcing them to have constant regard to the material and the sordid is to leave the robbers in possession of the highway.

Look up, go forward !



MR. J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

JAMES KEIR HARDIE, M.P.,

KNOWN throughout the civilized world as a leader of Socialist thought and action, and a prominent personality at all Socialist gatherings at home and abroad. Has the merit of being hated and maligned by his opponents with a venom above that accorded to most public men, and, on the other hand, is loved and revered not less passionately by those whose privilege it is to know him and count him comrade. Began life as a collier; is self-educated; has been journalist, Trade Union official, lecturer. Represented S.W. Ham in Parliament from 1892 to 1895; was returned for Merthyr Tydfil in 1900, which constituency he still represents. Is founder of the modern Labour and Socialist movement, and of the Labour Party in Parliament. On the occasion of the visit of the Brotherhoods of this country to Lille in 1910, Mr. Keir Hardie was chosen, and accompanied the delegates, to plead the cause of Christ and Brotherhood with the working men of the Continent, upon whom he made a deep and lasting impression. He has written several books, notably *From Serfdom to Socialism* and *India*; also numerous pamphlets.

CHAPTER VII

CHRIST AND THE MODERN MOVEMENT

At the outset let me say, that not having been present at any of the former meetings held during this week, it is quite possible that in the course of my remarks I may traverse somewhat the same ground some of my colleagues have already gone over. If that be so, I would ask you to bear in mind the story of the minister who preached from the same text for twenty successive Sabbaths, and when asked the reason for so doing, replied it was quite clear that either they did not believe the text or misunderstood it, as they were not living up to it, and he meant to continue preaching from it until he saw it acted in their lives.

The question of the relationship of Christianity to modern movements is not an academic one. Has Christ any message for the twentieth century, and if he has why do we read year after year and almost month after month complaints about the growing chasm between the Church and people? Why has the Church to report time after time a

decrease in membership ? Why don't the people attend as our grandfathers were wont to do ? If the Gospel of Christ be the same to-day as it was formerly, surely it must have the same message for the people as it formerly had. And sometimes I ask myself the question whether the theologians have not built such a scaffolding of theological doctrine, dogma, and learning around the Christ as to obscure Him from the view of the common people.

I want this evening, in a brief form, to try to restore to the minds of the average man and woman a conception of what Christ was and *is*, and what His teaching represents to a sinful and sorrowful world. To do that properly I want you to try and think yourself back into the period in which Christ was born ; in these modern days we see Christ through the retrospect of thousands of years. Not as He was, but as artists and poets and great preachers have presented Him. Who was Jesus Christ ? What was He to His contemporaries ? Please remember that I am trying to put the point of view of those who lived at the same time as He did. A Child born to working-class parents and very poor working-class parents at that. Joseph the carpenter, and Mary probably a peasant woman. Born into a small obscure village among the hills, where life was simple and where the habits and manners of the people were also simple. They would see the lad growing up

among other lads, playing the same games as other boys, attending the same form of teaching, growing from boyhood to manhood, working at His trade with nothing to mark Him off from those by whom He was surrounded ; and by and by this Young Man, perhaps more studious than His fellows, found He had something to say to them. He became first of all a disputant with the priests in the temple, and by and by began speaking to the common people outside the temple. He became a wandering agitator, meeting with the common people, denounced by the rich, denounced by the priests, and for three years that continued, and then He was executed as a common malefactor. That is how Christ must have appeared to those of His own day and generation. Whence comes, then, this wonderful power which must have resided in the Person of Jesus Christ, and which has come down to us through all these ages until Christianity has become the accepted form of religion for every civilized country, not only in Western Europe, but in the universe ? What is the explanation ? Once more I ask you to take your minds back to when Christ lived. What were the conditions of the people of His native land when He was born ? At that time the Roman Empire was the greatest empire of the world. The Roman Eagle was carried in conquest here, there and everywhere, and one nation after another was subdued by the Roman power

and held in subjection to it. That was the state of Christ's native land when He was born. They were living under a military despotism. The Roman soldiers were everywhere. A dictatorship supervened the making and administration of all their laws. Taxation was heavy and burdensome, poverty was rampant. We have that from the parables of the rich and the poor. He could not have drawn a parallel from the hiring of the men in the market, because no man had employed them unless He had known about the unemployed from actual experience. There were rich men in those days and learned men in those days, and they were proud and arrogant as the rich and learned are apt to be to-day. A sordid materialism was the rule of life. Rich and great were looked up to and worshipped by the poor and the workers held under them. These, then, were the external conditions of the national life during the boyhood of Christ. What was His method of propaganda? He did not write books or construct philosophic schemes of thought. He did not adopt the dogma of theologians which the poor peasants could not understand. He carried on his work in the open air. He spoke to the common people in the language of the common people. He used illustrations to enforce His meaning that the minds of the common people were familiar with, and what was the Gospel He preached? What was it He said to those people who had gathered round to

listened. The common people heard Him gladly. Christ started from this central thought, that God is the Universal Father and that every human being is a son of God, and, therefore, that the human race is one great family brotherhood. That was the central thought from which the teaching of Christ sprang and followed upon. He pointed out that if God was the Universal Father, and if all men were brothers, the proper law governing life of the family was not hatred and bickering, strife and enmity. The law of the family is the law of love. Not of the strong oppressing the weak, but of the strong serving the weak. Love and service followed from the kernel thought to which I refer. That was not all Christ said to the people. You have been told in olden times by Moses, Thou shalt not kill. I say to you that not only must you not kill, but you must not even hate your enemies. You must love your enemies and pray for those that despitefully use you. I have come to establish God's Kingdom on earth. I have taught you to pray God's will shall be done on earth even as it is done in Heaven, and if you want to begin to build up God's Kingdom, you must do as God does. Hate the sin and love the sinner. Therefore you must not hate your enemies, and must give your services to all who need it. Under the Roman law a Roman soldier had the power to compel the peasants to show him the way, and Christ said, If a man compel thee to go

with him one mile go with him twain. Why? Because you are doing it as an act of comradeship and fellowship, and if some one wants to borrow your coat, give him your cloak also, just to show that in God's Kingdom you will receive more than you ask when you obey God's laws. As for warfare, that must not be thought of in the Kingdom of God, he who uses the sword shall perish by the sword, and if the law of God's Kingdom is to be the law of love, there is no room for militarism. And even to those who had fallen in sin such as the woman taken in adultery brought before Christ to be condemned. What did He say? He realized that she was more sinned against than sinning, and instead of reproaching the poor woman and ordering her to be sent to a reformatory, Christ turned to her accusers and said, He that is without sin among you let him cast the first stone. The object of Christ's teaching was to make men live lives of love and charitableness, not merely to condemn that which is wrong, but to set up a kingdom so that the causes which produced the wrong would no longer exist. God's Kingdom, then, was to be founded upon love, service and humility, and there was to be no sectarianism. Christ told the woman at the well that the time would come when the people would neither worship at the temple at Jerusalem nor at the Holy Hill of the Samaritans, but that all who believed in God would worship God in spirit and

in truth, and the disciples and the listeners were filled with wonder and amazement. Suppose Christ were to appear in this part of London and began speaking even to you folks who are here to-night, and you are far from being the most hard pressed, and to say unto you, Love your enemies, do good to those that hate you, do not refuse anyone anything, and above all take no thought for the morrow. Be not concerned or worried about anything. What would your answer be? How can we afford to take no thought for the morrow? Our children to provide for, our rent to pay, the butcher's and baker's bills falling due, our income is scanty, how can we? That same thought was passing in the minds of those who listened in the open air on the hillside, and He read the thought in their minds and saw the puzzled expression and said, You are full of wonderment why I should say these things unto you. Look at the birds of the air: they have no thought for the morrow, their hearts are full of music. They cannot help expressing this in song, so filled with joy is their life. If God provides for the birds and makes them full of joyous life, will He not much more provide for you who have an immortal soul, the apex of civilization. See the flowers and the lilies, they have no worry about dress, they are more beautiful than Solomon in all his glory. If God clothes the lilies with beauty, surely He will

not fail to clothe human beings also, but, and this was His moral, if you want joy of the absence of worry you must do as the birds and the flowers do, you must worship God and live according to God's plan. You cannot serve God and Mammon at one and the same time, and the reason why you are as you are is because you are in the service of Mammon and not in the service of God. There is a joy and happiness and freedom from care everywhere in nature until we touch man, and surely the God who made everything happy will also make mankind happy when they follow His laws. The worship of Mammon, what is it? I wonder how many here could define what is meant by Mammon. It is not merely business success. It means worldliness in every one of its forms. Militarism is part of Mammon. Successful business often means worshipping at its shrine. The working man who wants to get on is in its service. All things that constitute modern life for successful and desirable material things are part of the worship of Mammon. The Roman Empire has passed away, Christ has been accepted as the Saviour of civilized man, and yet to-night every evil He denounced is rampant now, and every ideal which he held before us as part of the Kingdom of God is as far removed from us as when He first spake. The early Christian Church shows what Christ's teaching was. The early Church was composed of very poor people. For the first

300 years of its existence it was a persecuted Church. Its members had to practise worship in secret, they were hunted like beasts of prey by the priests of that time; even to this day travellers to Rome are shown the catacombs where Christians in Rome had to go to hold their services. They were burned, denounced as Atheists, as rebels, as enemies of society, but they kept their brotherhood intact. No private property was held by the Christian Church. Every Christian was a brother and a comrade, and there were no rich and no poor, all things were held in common, and because of the great faith that Christ had implanted in them they outlived persecution until the Gospel was accepted by all. A thousand years have come and gone since then, and now it is 1912 of the Christian era. Great cathedrals, churches, and unambitious chapels cover the land. Dignitaries, bishops, archbishops, parsons, ministers and layman are all busily at work proclaiming the Gospel of Christ, and *talking* of the Kingdom of God. But what is meant now by the Kingdom of God? The Kingdom of God has to be relegated to a mythical hereafter, the ruling class think it consistent with Christianity to hold the poor down in their poverty and to console them with a heaven that is to come because they have found no means of investing money there. The Kingdom of God, who dares speak of it in the city of London? Just think what is happening round you now in

every city. You have your streets practically lined with what you are pleased to call fallen women. Why are they fallen women? Because God ordained it? You won't dare say that. Because they are specially bad? No. Because your Christian civilized society denies them the opportunity of earning an honest livelihood. We are accused of preaching materialism. Let us face facts. Suppose some preacher had a mission among fallen women and got them to turn to a cleaner and more decent life. There are 80,000 on your streets. Where are you going to find 80,000 jobs at a living wage for these women? My friends, Christ showed by His own teaching that He realised that the first thing to be done is to supply the material needs of life and then go on to develop the spiritual. We have our churches and our chapels, but we also have our Imperialism. England is doing for the people what Rome did for Christ. We are holding coloured people in subjection in order that we may exploit them as Rome did Judea and Palestine, and this explains why the Church and the people are becoming divorced. The theologians have sought to adapt the teaching of Christ to the service of Mammon. They are doing to-day exactly what the priests and scribes and Pharisees did then, and if that is to continue there can be no progress in the way of gathering the people inside the Christian fold. But, fortunately, the Spirit of God is neither

dead nor asleep. A new movement has arisen which has re-embodied the ideas set forth in the teaching of Christ, a movement for the most part outside the Christian Church. Its apostles and prophets, disciples and workers are denounced as ungodly, atheists, rebels, stirrers up of strife, but remember that every one of these things was also said of Jesus Christ and His disciples. He carried on His work outside the Church. We sometimes hear Labour men denounced for stirring up strife between class and class. What modern Labour man has ever used the same strong language towards the rich as Christ did ?

He denounced them as vipers who deserved the damnation of hell, He told them that Dives, when he died, went straight to hell (carried down by his bags of gold probably). But Lazarus went straight to heaven. Christ's teaching denounced the possession of private property and the arrogance of the learned.

The Labour movement, a socialistic movement, is seeking to build up Christ's Kingdom on earth. Take no thought for the morrow. Under Socialism there will be no need, because every one who does the duty of the hour will be sure of the needs of life. Thou shalt not kill, say the Scriptures ; thou shalt not shoot, say certain modern Socialists. Christ was crucified by the Roman authorities for saying that, and in Christian

England the men who say "Don't shoot" are sent to prison. Thou shalt love thy enemies, and they who take the sword shall perish by the sword, and 450 million pounds are being spent by the Christian nations of Europe in building up armaments! In the midst of this Christian hypocrisy comes your materialistic, godless Socialist and says, "Comrades of Germany, France and England, why should we fight one with another? We are all human beings, and our business is not to fight but to co-operate." Your modern system says, compete and you will get on, struggle and the strongest will rise to the top, and if there are men who do not rise it is because they are not fit. And the Christian Church blesses that system of society. It is not gathered from Christ's teaching that He meant the strongest should strive for personal success? When Christ was asked who should be greatest in the Kingdom of God, He said, "He who would be greatest among you let him be the servant of all." The law of competition and strife and struggle is not the law of civilized human beings, it is the law of the wild beasts of the jungle. There is on the one side an idle class with no useful purpose, on the other hand you have thousands of human beings made also in the image of God, who are being destroyed by their poverty, and between these two extremes you have the great mass of people, shopkeepers, artisans, labourers and the man who fails to get constant

work. No security in life, no time for developing the higher things, because the whole time is required for lower things. Then the Socialist says, "Comrades and friends, what is the meaning of it? Surely life is meant for higher things." The meaning of it all is private property. We must abolish causes, we must make the land our own property to produce for the needs of the nation and not for the profits of the few. And a Socialist is denounced as being un-Christian. What did Christ say to the man who gathered corn and had not room to store, and said, I will pull down my barns and build greater, and will say to my soul, Soul thou hast much goods laid up for many years, eat, drink and be merry? What did God call that man? A fool. And what does it benefit a man if he gain the whole world, like Carnegie or Pierpont Morgan, if thereby he loses his own soul? And so the Socialist and Christian ought to be working together—not to save individual souls from sinning or the consequences of sin merely, but to establish God's Kingdom on earth, so that sin may become well-nigh impossible. For Christ's Kingdom meant that those that accepted His teaching were to bind themselves together and live so that the conditions existing to-day should disappear. Well, let me say this, and I hope you will believe me when I say I speak not in bravado, but in reverence for the Person of Christ. Let me say to those of you of the working-classes, we must

rescue Jesus Christ from the rich. He belongs to us in a special degree. The other side use Him as a mask behind which they go on violating His teaching, and if you are inclined to say that I am speaking of the worldly side of Christ's teaching, let me say that it was to do that that I came here. But you are apt to forget that there is a second side. I have felt the power of conversion to Christ. I know the peace that arises from a sense of sins forgiven. But the scientists tell us that every organ has been produced by natural causes. That the light has produced the eye, if there were not light there would have been no eye ; that sound has produced the ear, and in a like manner God has produced the soul within man. But if you erect barriers between yourself and God, the power of the Spirit cannot operate. I ask you then, my comrades, to believe me when I say that Christianity has its message not only for the past, but also for the present ; that up to now that message has not found its embodiment in the modern Christian Church, but rather in the modern socialistic movement, that by any test you wish to apply modern Socialism represents it better than any form of Christianity. Let us work, therefore, whether we work as Jesus Christ worked outside the Church or within, or whether we are accounted rebels as Jesus Christ was. Let us work for what we know to be right, and if we are working in the spirit of humanity and

for the good of humanity, we can claim Christ as the elder brother and the Great Comrade, and He will not forsake us in the hour of our necessity.

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